

The South African Outlook

MAY 1, 1956.

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have been suggestions that some leaders were unduly influenced by personal considerations, and at one important meeting, at least, there was manifested considerable unpleasantness on the part of some who felt that a valuable system, the fruit of the thought and labour of former giants in Native Affairs, was being cast away by men of different calibre. On the opening day, however, the Minister of Native Affairs sent a special message in which he declared that the Bantu of the Transkeian Territories had come to realise the greater possibilities of the Cape's Bantu authorities. He added that under the new system all who were actively employed within the scope of the Council system would have an opportunity of retaining what was good and of replacing what was less beneficial.

The South African Outlook

That God created men that He might educate them into the fellowship of Christ, is my faith. And that the mountains may depart and the hills be removed, but that His purpose will never depart, is also my confidence.

Thomas Erskine.

The Tomlinson Report.

We are providing in this and subsequent issues for considerable attention being given to the Tomlinson Report. Towards the end of April the Government issued a white paper in which it made comments of the Report and rejected a number of its main recommendations. It is now clear why even a summary of the Report was so long in being published: obviously many of the findings and recommendations of the Report cut right across Government policy. We cannot believe that the Government's reaction will be approved even in the ranks of its own supporters, and future developments can be awaited with interest. It is to be hoped, however, that the much-needed rehabilitation of the Reserves will not be other than vigorously tackled.

The Transkeian Bunga.

The United Transkeian Territories General Council opened on 17th April. Considerable importance was attached to this meeting as it was reckoned to be the last meeting of the Council as now constituted. Last year the Council agreed that it be dissolved and that it be replaced by a new Bantu Authorities system. During recent months there has been considerable discussion in the Transkei as to whether last year's decision was not taken too hastily and without due consultation with the general body of the people. There

The Under-Secretary for Native Affairs (Bantu Areas) said he was confident that the Bantu Authorities system would open a new era of progress, development and happiness. He averred that "the council system had not been based on the background of traditions of the Bantu but on those of a different racial group. Moreover, an inherent weakness in its make-up was that it rested on the initiative and driving force of Europeans—mainly officials. The Bantu authorities system on the other hand symbolised the Bantu traditional constitution. It is primarily based on the chieftainship which is inherent in the Bantu structure. At the same time the constitution envisages that all categories of leaders of the people will find a place within its structure. And what is very important, it provides scope for initiative by the Bantu for their own development. It is a system which envisages local government for the Bantu by the Bantu in their own areas. You need have no misgivings or qualms. I am not only confident but convinced that the Bantu authorities system will open for you a new era of progress, development and happiness."

In face of these pronouncements, it seems to us that the Council acted with unassailable logic when it took the step of deciding that it would dispense with the European chairman and secretary as from 1st July. The Chief Magistrate, who is chairman, asked the Councillors if they realised what they were doing in dispensing with chief European officials. He said that the new Bantu officials who would take over knew little of how to run such a vast organisation as the Bunga. The Bantu would need nursemaids for the officials who were going to learn the work.

He added that the original idea was to let European officials continue until the Bantu staff were trained. The secretary of the Council said he had drawn up the draft proclamation and made it watertight but now the councillors were piercing it with swords so that everything inside would be lost. Again, with unassailable logic, some councillors said they were mystified as to why there was all this talk of no European officials or advisors during the interim period as the draft proclamation had stated that European officials would be in an advisory capacity.

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The Council is told that the old system was defective "because it rested on the initiative and driving force of Europeans—mainly officials"; the new system, it is said, "provides scope for initiative by the Bantu for their own development." "It is a system which envisages local government for the Bantu by the Bantu in their own areas." The Council took the Government at its word. And probably by this show of independence pacified some of those who have reckoned the Council to be a group of "yes-men."

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We regret that an over-zeal of propaganda has caused the merits of the Council system to be submerged and its long and honourable record of progress to be demeaned. Less ideology and more loyalty would have maintained an atmosphere that was much more healthy and truly progressive than now prevails.

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Transfer of Protectorates.

Press Digest informs us that in an article in *Dagbreek en Sondagnuus* (4/3/56), Prof. D. W. Kruger, of Potchefstroom University, and at present on study leave in England, wrote that even a superficial observation of public opinion in Britain and a study of the official documents of the United Nations made it clear that not all criticism of the Union was based on mere ignorance and prejudice. "The fact is that both in England and in U.N. circles, there are well-informed peoples whose criticism is based on a profound difference of principle with us. They have a detailed knowledge of the facts with regard to the apartheid policy and they have made a thorough study of the history of South Africa. . . . There is no doubt too that informed circles regard the Union and especially the Afrikaner's viewpoint with sympathy but nevertheless reject it on principle. This is also the case with friends and admirers of our people." Great Britain and the Netherlands supported S.A. at the U.N. but this did not reflect public opinion in those countries. "Indeed, I have nowhere encountered such biting criticism of the Union's policy as just in our country of origin, the Netherlands, for there they almost generally confuse our practice of racial separation with the hated Nazi's theory of race superiority. In this regard it

makes one laugh to hear indignant former Nazis moralise about our policy." The British government valued the Union's strategic position in the Commonwealth and its economic co-operation. "They do not want to estrange us and perhaps something positive can come of that attitude." But any British Government, Labour or Conservative, which proposed to hand over the Protectorates to the Union would suffer certain defeat. On the other hand, the Trusteeship Committee of the U.N.O. would sooner or later insist on the Protectorates being placed under its supervision. In the long run, Britain could not refuse such a demand and critics and advocates of direct interference would have a starting-point in the heart of the Union. This would have fatal effects on the racial separation policy. There was only one solution, renewal of negotiations between the Union and British governments on the basis of mixed control of the Protectorates. "In my opinion, the only solution lies in a compromise. The time has come for the two governments to agree to place the territories under a joint Protectorate commission which will make an annual report to both. The joint aim should be to develop the territories concerned in the interest of all parties. In that case, the Union should be prepared to contribute annually a limited sum of money, for example, towards afforestation in Basutoland with a view to the protection of the upper reaches of the Caledon and Orange Rivers in our national interest. I am convinced that any practical suggestion on the part of the Union government will enjoy very serious consideration."

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Refusing Access to Courts.

While the Government vociferously denies that South Africa is approaching nearer to the Police State, restrictions are being multiplied to prevent access to the courts. The latest is a Bill giving municipalities arbitrary power to banish Africans without trial or enquiry of any kind if their presence is considered to be "detrimental to the maintenance of peace and order." According to the political correspondent of the *Daily Dispatch* the Natives Urban Areas Amendment Bill—the banishment Bill—will also provide that Native political offenders who contravene certain banishment orders may be sent to work colonies.

The drastic provisions of the new Native (Urban Areas) Amendment Bill are as follows: If in the opinion of an urban local authority the presence of any Native is "detrimental to the maintenance of peace and order" the urban authority "may order such a Native to depart from any such area within a specified period and thereafter not to return to or be in such area without the permission of the urban local authority." This means that there is no trial and the Native concerned has no opportunity to state his case or appeal against the ejection order. The Bill

does not even provide that the Native shall be given any detailed reason for his ejectment. Nor does it matter whether the Native was born in this area or whether his family lives there. Any Native who fails to comply with a removal order shall be guilty of an offence and after he has been convicted of the offence and paid a fine or served a sentence, the removal order may then be enforced by the police. If more than one removal order is served on any particular Native within five years, the Minister may direct a Chief Native Commissioner to hold an inquiry into the reasons for the orders. The Native concerned must be present at the inquiry and if he fails to attend after receiving due notice, he may be arrested without a warrant and brought before the Native Commissioner. If the Native Commissioner finds that the Native "is a person whose presence in an urban area or proclaimed area is detrimental to the maintenance of peace and order, he shall, subject to such conditions as he may determine, order such a Native not to enter or be in any area wherever situated and specified in such order within any period specified without the permission of the Secretary for Native Affairs."

Such provisions might be justifiable in time of war. Does South Africa wish to proclaim to the world that a state of war prevails within her borders?

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Churches and the Group Areas Act.

It is deplorable to learn of African churches in towns which, under the Group Areas Act, are being ordered to close. We would have thought that any cultural or recreational activity which aimed at improving the worker in European areas would be welcome to the employers, as it would make the employee better and happier and consequently more fitted for his duties. But we could never have imagined that even the church, which is the outward symbol of the Gospel which was brought to Africa by the Western peoples, would one day fall among the things that would be prohibited in any area in a Christian land. It seems to us that this move will lead either to the deterioration of the moral character and the spiritual life of the Christian employee or to the need of the opening of European churches to the African worker, and we wonder if this would not be the more difficult course to follow than to allow the African to worship in his own church in the European areas when he cannot easily reach the location on account of distance.

We think it is regrettable also that there is a threat to prohibit trading by Africans in European areas especially when such trading meets the essential needs of the people, and in this connection we have in mind the cafe type of business. We all know that in some of our large industrial cities Africans leave their homes to go to their places of work before sunrise and return after sunset. The whole day is spent near the place of work. One wonders where

such workers are expected to get their lunch when our discriminatory laws, which forbid them service in European restaurants, threaten now to prohibit their own people from catering for them.

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African Franchise in Kenya.

According to the London monthly, *African World*, the Government of Kenya has accepted the principle, important in this multi-racial territory, that the right of Africans to vote in the election of their representatives in the Legislative Council shall be, for the present, determined on a limited and selective system. This proposal is embodied in the scheme of African franchise which the Kenya Government has adopted in fulfilment of an agreement under the Lyttelton Plan drawn up two years ago. The report of Mr. W. F. Coutts, who was asked to conduct an enquiry into the best methods by which Africans could choose their representatives in the Colony's Legislature, was summarised in our news columns last month, and his proposals have been accepted by the Government with certain modifications.

It has been agreed that the African's right to vote should depend upon his educational attainments, service in public or private capacity, ownership of property, relative maturity in age, and general standing in the community. The accepted voter must be up to or above the second form standard of a secondary course. Other qualifications include five years' service in the armed forces or tribal police, possession of a proved income of £120 a year from a trade, profession or farming, the grade of an elder in a tribe, ownership of property valued at £500, ten years' service in a responsible position on a farm, in commerce or in Government or local government employment, or possession of a medal or certificate awarded for more than 20 years' faithful and continuous service. The Government has also accepted Mr. Coutts's proposal that additional votes should be given to certain specially selected voters, but it would appear that African opinion is unfavourable to this. The report and the sessional paper embodying the Government's conclusions are now before the Legislative Council, and the Government intends that elections under the new franchise system shall take place before the end of March, 1957.

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An Appeal against Fort Hare.

During recent months it has been known that action was proposed to be taken in the Supreme Court of the Cape against the authorities of the University College of Fort Hare on account of the closing of the College in May last year and the subsequent exclusion from the College of certain students. In a recent issue of *The World* (Johannesburg) it was stated that there was a possibility of an agreement being made out of court, and that attorneys

on both sides were working on terms. The *World's* statement was not in accordance with the facts, as the following official notice, which has appeared in the press, reveals.

"The proposed application by a student to the Cape Provincial division of the Supreme Court against the University College of Fort Hare in which she claimed :

'(1) an order (a) declaring that she had at all material times been and still is a student of the College and that she is therefore entitled to return to the College forthwith and, alternatively, (b) setting aside the resolution of the Council of the College adopted on 29th August, 1955, directing that the College forthwith readmits her as a student unconditionally, and

(2) an order that the College forthwith allow her to return to the College and that she be afforded all rights and lawful privileges as a student, and the costs ' was set down for hearing on April 4th and 5th. The application was struck off the roll with costs in favour of the College.

The College was represented by Mr. Advocate F. J. Wessels, Q.C., and Mr. Advocate G. Steyl, both of Cape Town, instructed by Messrs. de Klerk and van Gend, of Cape Town, and Messrs. Hutton and Cook, of King William's Town."

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Honour for Dr. E. H. Brookes.

We are glad to learn from a recent issue of *South Africa* (London weekly) that Dr. Edgar H. Brookes has been awarded the Wellcome Medal for distinguished service to Africa. The medal is awarded annually by the Royal African Society on the recommendation of a committee representing the Wellcome Trustees, the Royal African Society, the Royal Empire Society, and the International African Institute. It is accompanied by an award of £50.

The citation in the case of Dr. Brookes reads :—

Dr. Brookes, born 1897, has devoted his life to promoting racial harmony in South Africa. He was Professor of Public Administration and Political Science at Pretoria University from 1923 to 1933. From 1933 to 1945 he was Principal of Adams Native College, Natal. From 1937 to 1952 he was a member of the Union Senate, elected by the natives of Natal and Zululand as their representative.

He served as President of the South African Institute of Race Relations from 1931 to 1933 and again from 1946 to 1947.

From 1945 to 1950 he served as a member of the permanent Native Affairs Commission.

He was a member of the Social and Economic Planning Council from 1942 to 1952, a delegate to the League of Nations in 1927, a delegate to UNESCO in 1947; and has been chairman of various University Commissions.

Among his publications are : *History of Native Policy in South Africa* (1923), *Native Education in South Africa*

(1929), *The Colour Problems of South Africa* (1934), and *South Africa in a Changing World* (1953).

Dr. Brookes received the medal personally in London when the Royal African Society met on 25th April.

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The World's best Seller.

We are interested to learn from a News Release of the South African headquarters of the British and Foreign Bible Society that in 1955 Scripture distribution in South Africa totalled a record of 456,980 volumes in 112 languages. The best-selling languages in South Africa were Afrikaans—218,819 volumes; Zulu—59,417, English—57,721; Xhosa 32,390; Sotho—32,090. Although English is third, due in part to the fact that there are sources of supply apart from the Bible Society, one of the best-selling items is the English "Ruby" Bible which at 5/- is sold at a loss to the Society to put it within reach of any child of school-going age. An Afrikaans-English version of the New Testament, containing the Authorised Version and the Afrikaans Revised Version in parallel columns, is of special interest to those who would become versed in the "other" official language. This handsome publication at 6/- contributes not only to the knowledge of the Gospel, but is itself an effect of the Gospel since it breaks down the barrier which language raises between fellow-Christians in South Africa.

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Laying of "Multi-Racial" Foundation Stones.

A ceremony of unusual character took place at Auden House, the new national head office of the S.A. Institute of Race Relations, at 68 De Korte Street, Braamfontein, at 3 p.m. on Wednesday, 28 March. Three foundation stones—in English, Afrikaans and Sesotho and Xhosa, symbolising South Africa's multi-racial structure and the Institute's creed of inter-racial co-operation—were laid by prominent representatives, and in the languages, of the race groups concerned. Mr. Leo Marquard, President of the Institute, presided over the ceremony, at which the Deputy-Mayor of Johannesburg, Mr. M. Goodman, and between 150 and 200 guests were present. The foundation stone in English was laid by Dr. A. W. Hoernlé, the stone in Afrikaans by Ds. J. Reyneke, and the Sesotho-Xhosa stone by Mr. J. R. Rathebe on behalf of Professor D. D. T. Jabavu, who was prevented by illness from attending. Dr. Hoernlé, Ds. J. Reyneke and Professor Jabavu have all three given long service to the Institute in executive capacity. Auden House will commemorate the name of Dr. F. T. Auden, who created the Auden Race Relations Trust for the study and promotion of race relations in South Africa.

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Christian Council of South Africa

INTERVIEW WITH MINISTER RE PRIVATE SCHOOLS

THE following is a report of an interview with the Minister of Native Affairs on Tuesday March 27th 1956.

General theme : *Private schools under the Bantu Education Act.*

Members of the deputation were : Rev. C. K. Storey (Methodist) ; Rev. Basil Brown (Cong.) ; Rev. W. H. Doke (Baptist) ; Rev. J. Anderson (Presbyterian).

The President (Dr. R. H. W. Shepherd) and the Secretary (Dr. A. W. Blaxall) were unable to join the deputation, but were present at discussions which preceded.

The following questions were presented as a basis :

1. What procedure should be adopted to secure the registration of a private school ? Two schools which had applied were told they must accept temporary registration.

2. If a new school is desired how is it possible for it to be recognised and registered ?

3. May the right of the church to run private schools be assumed ? Many African parents are willing and able to pay for an education of their choice. Uncertainty about the possibility of establishing Protestant private schools is playing into the hands of the Roman Catholic Church.

There are parents who want their children to go to a school with a distinctly Christian or denominational emphasis.

4. Would the church be permitted to charge fees for education at a private school ?

5. Would inspection by Government inspectors be required ? We assume this will be necessary.

6. What will happen when the diminishing subsidy ceases ? Is there any guarantee for the future of the schools now receiving a subsidy ?

7. Is the Minister opposed to people, who hold a view different from his own, running a private school so long as they do not break the law or advocate defiance of the law.

8. Will private schools be allowed only within the framework of the Bantu Education Act or will there be room for such schools to be run on a broader basis of academic interest, and emphasis on the religious ideals of the church concerned.

(The deputation had especially in mind applications believed to have been submitted by the governing bodies of Adams College in Natal and ' Grace Dieu ' school in the Pietersburg, Transvaal, district.)

The Honourable the Minister received the deputation graciously and gave them an hour and a quarter of his time. Dr. Eislen was in attendance throughout ; the Minister

did most of the speaking but willingly answered questions when raised.

The chief points made by the Minister, not necessarily in the order of points submitted, were as follows :—

1. The Minister stressed that from the beginning he had made it clear to the churches that Church schools would not be encouraged in competition with Bantu Community Schools. The whole emphasis of the Act is on the Bantu Community School. More adequate facilities for religious work by the recognised churches are provided by the right of entry. Open access to Bantu schools by ministers of such churches is provided for in the Act.

2. There is NO *right* within the Bantu Education Act for the establishment of private schools, but a *privilege* might be given to churches to maintain private schools where the department cannot provide adequate schooling; e.g. farming areas where the Bantu community cannot sustain such a school—in that case the church might run a farm school.

3. Private schools have been retained in the Act to cover two needs :—

(a) where churches had schools before the Act they could continue to operate *those* schools after the Act came into force (under certain conditions). (b) Where children cannot be housed in Bantu Community Schools, any organization, *with its own funds*, might be allowed to start a private school to meet a need.

4. Fee paying schools were not permitted, and direct fee paying by parents would not be allowed. Private schools must be run by special funds. Towards these the Bantu members of the Church could make their contribution.

5. Schools in existence before the Act, which had elected to receive decreasing subsidy, would be registered as private schools when the period of subsidy elapsed at the end of 1957. This registration was almost automatic, but it might be affected by a Bantu Community School being opened in the neighbourhood, in which case the private school would become redundant. It would also be affected if the Bantu Community demanded that the school in their area be a Bantu Community school.

6. There was no guarantee that a private school once registered would be allowed to continue indefinitely, but little likelihood that it would be discontinued if it were meeting a need and being properly run. It could however be closed if there was a strong demand in any area served by a private school for the establishment of a Bantu Community School. The two would not be allowed to exist side by side or in competition.

7. Virtually NO NEW PRIVATE SCHOOLS WOULD BE PERMITTED to come into being to compete with existing Bantu Community schools. Newly established private schools would therefore initially be for beginners only. Churches which had elected to retain some of their present schools would not be allowed to start *any new* schools except in very rare cases (see 2 above).

8. The difficulty about the registration of schools like Adams and Grace Dieu is that they would only cater for secondary students. Where were such students to come from? Private schools must cater for the whole scale of school needs from sub-A upwards, as did the Roman Catholics. In the case of Adams strong representations had come from the Bantu people that the school there be a Bantu Community School. No purely secondary or high schools would be encouraged.

9. All sorts of bodies want to run private schools as well as the churches—which would not be good. The African National Congress desired this as much as anyone.

10. In areas where the Roman Catholic schools catered for a considerable number of children of other churches (the figure of 50% was mentioned as a fair average) it was probable that a Bantu Community School might be built to absorb these children, leaving the Roman Catholics with only their own folk.

11. In the first year of the operation of schools under the Act 200,000 more African children had been placed in school than ever before.

12. The big opportunity of the churches is the right of entry into every Bantu Community School. A minister of the Dutch Reformed Church the Rev. Mr. Greyling has been appointed to organize the instruction of basic Christian religion as a school and examination subject in Bantu Education. Mr. Greyling would control the arrangement of adequate opportunities for each recognised church that desired to avail itself of this privilege, to give instruction in church doctrine to pupils of its own denomination in Government and subsidised Bantu Schools (except of course in the still existing category of subsidised church Schools). Churches were encouraged to give teachers special spiritual training for their work.

—(It was asked by the deputation whether this 'right of entry' might be extended to include teacher training institutions, so that special training of this sort might be given. It was agreed that the matter might first be discussed with Ds. Greyling and the chief inspector, Mr. F. J. de Villiers, and possibly, with their consent, taken up with Dr. Eiselen at a later date).

13. Such private schools as are permitted will have to comply with the syllabus and curriculum of the department. Such schools are subject to regular inspection by departmental officers.

14. There is no place in Bantu life for the equivalent of private schools like Bishops or Kingswood. Denominational boarding schools of this type are not favoured as they would draw students from various parts of the country, whereas the aim of the department is to provide schooling as near home as possible to stress the role which that school must play in the building of a progressive Bantu community.

CHRISTIAN COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS

1. The Christian Council is convinced that there is an essential place for the private school in Bantu Education, for the following reasons:

- (a) It may be unreservedly conceded that there is a virtue in variety of approach to the education of the young, and South Africa is fortunate in not hitherto having been restricted to any one type of school.
- (b) In spite of the Minister's assertion that 200,000 additional children have been enrolled since Bantu Education came into force, there are still hundreds of thousands of children receiving no education. Instead of frowning on private schools, the State should welcome every private effort to provide education.

2. The Council views with grave concern the Minister's assertion that parents are not to be allowed to contribute to their children's education if they wish and feel they can afford to do so. This is gross interference with the rights of parents. The parent's charter lies in his freedom of choice, and it is this which the Council believes must be safeguarded. Likewise the Council is very disturbed by the suggestion that there is no place in Bantu life for the equivalent of the great European private schools. The Council cannot understand how the Minister justifies his contention that secondary schools should not be run independently of primary schools, and can see no objection to the enrolment in the same school of scholars from different areas.

3. The Council challenges the Minister's assertion that the right of entry gives bigger facilities for religious work. It may give wider facilities for Scripture teaching, but the Churches are being denied the opportunity provided by a Church school to ensure effective religious education. The Churches have not the resources in manpower to avail themselves of the opportunity provided by the right of entry for religious teaching.

4. The Council is perturbed that even when private schools have been established their continuance may be jeopardised by a demand from the Bantu community, as this might be open to grave abuse. The Council trusts that the Minister will take into consideration the money and effort put into existing schools and not lightly close them at the request of the community.

The Tomlinson Report

THE long-awaited *Summary of the Report of the Commission for the Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Areas within the Union of South Africa* has at last been published. It is a volume of 213 double-column pages and has, in addition, 63 maps. It is obtainable from the Lovedale Bookstore at a cost of 12/6. This is an abridged version of a work which runs into 3,755 pages. If published in its entirety it would be much too expensive and unmanageable for the ordinary reader. Prof. Tomlinson says the Commission received about 250 memoranda from individuals and institutions. Oral evidence took 83 days, and 322 Europeans and 106 Natives were approached. The evidence consists of 7,687 folio sheets. The original fundamental data upon which the commission's report are based are bound into 69 volumes which, together with one set of oral evidence recorded by the commission, have been handed to the Department of Native Affairs for safekeeping. The report is in four parts. Part one is "the broad perspective."

Part two deals with the Bantu areas.

Part three deals with the development of the Bantu areas, and

Part four with the execution of development proposals.

The Report has already received long reviews in the press of the Union and also considerable notice overseas. It is bound to be discussed for years to come.

THE MAIN RECOMMENDATIONS

The main stress of the Report is the necessity for immense development of the Native reserves, at an estimated cost in capital expenditure for the first ten years of £104,000,000. The Report declares that this is the only way in which the future of the white man in the Union can be assured. The Commission acknowledges the magnitude of the task, but says it cannot be described as impossible when compared with the task of reconstructing the war-devastated countries after 1945.

The Commission declares that such a full-scale development plan is an essential forerunner of any attempt to apply *apartheid* effectively. "Either the challenge must be accepted, or the inevitable consequences of the integration of the Bantu and European population groups into a common society must be endured."

A STATE WITHIN A STATE

The expansion of the Native Affairs Department into a "a State within a State" and the creation of a special Planning and Development Organization to implement its plan for the Reserves is recommended. It suggests that the Native Commissioner responsible for the Bantu Areas should be made a Deputy Minister of Native Affairs and take part in Cabinet deliberations when matters relating to

the Bantu Areas are discussed. It also recommends the establishment of the post of Deputy Secretary (Bantu Areas) in the Native Affairs Department, and the creation of a variety of subdivisions of the various divisions of the Department of Native Affairs, each under an under-secretary or director. Where necessary other State Departments should have separate divisions created where their work has anything to do with the Bantu areas. The Commission recommends that the South African Native Trust should hand over its developmental activities to the proposed Development Corporation or to the proposed sub-departments, and merely control land rights. It also proposes that the Minister of Native Affairs draw up an annual sub-budget, similar to that prepared by the Minister of Transport. The proposed Development Council, says the report, should consist of a chairman and from five to nine members appointed by the Governor-General for their knowledge of the economic, sociological, ethnological, administrative and other planning problems involved. Another four members should be drawn from the Department of Native Affairs, the Natural Resources Development Council, the directorate of the Development Corporation (another suggested body) and four part-time members who have special knowledge of the Bantu. It is hoped that from an early stage these will be Natives. From a panel made up of representatives of other departments the Minister could from time to time co-opt other members to the Council.

The Council would be charged with the over-all planning of the development of the Reserves and would be later helped by regional councils. The proposed Development Corporation of five full-time and seven part-time directors, supplied with money by the Trust, would be charged with encouraging and promoting Bantu undertakings in the reserves. "Either directly or through subsidiaries it may establish, underwrite or otherwise participate in any enterprise which will further its objects, including commercial banks, insurance companies, farming enterprises, factories and so on."

POPULATION

The Commission believes that if its recommendations are accepted in full, and all goes well, the carrying capacity of the present reserves will be raised from the present 3,600,000 to 10,000,000 including those temporarily away as migratory workers, in twenty-five years time. The reserves will then hold 60 per cent of the total Bantu population. At the end of the century this percentage will be increased to 70. The Commission estimates that the total Bantu population in the year 2000 will be 20,000,000. This means that there will be 14,000,000 Africans in the

reserves, and in the European areas about 6,000,000. What the European population will then be is estimated as 4,500,000 to 6,000,000. Thus, according to the Commission's own estimates, after the most intensive development of the reserves, there will be as many Bantu in the European areas as there are European inhabitants of the Union.

BANTU TOWNS IN RESERVES

The Commission declares that the establishment of Native towns in the Reserves is essential if balanced development is to take place there in accordance with a diversified national economy.

The Commission recommends the planned establishment of more than a hundred big towns in the five Native Reserves. These towns, it says, have to hold the 1,500,000 people who would have to abandon their present farming life under the Commission's proposals for a redistribution of farm land. They must be towns in the full sense of the word with "all offices, from street sweeper to Mayor," open to the Bantu. Europeans should not own land in these towns and should not be allowed there unless their presence is necessary in the interests of the Bantu. The Commission envisages the creation of three types of urban development—rural settlements, villages and cities. The towns must be established on an economic foundation. "Forestry, agriculture, mining, industries, administration, education and culture, and even recreation can serve as the originating factor of Bantu towns."

For the planning and establishment of these Bantu towns and villages the Commission recommends the formation of an organization within the Native Affairs Department on the lines of the Local Authorities Division of the Provincial Administration, a section to advise the Bantu on urban administration, and a townships board. The 26 existing European villages in the Reserves, says the Commission, should gradually be converted into Bantu towns and villages. This could be done under the Group Areas Act, a Bantu group area and a European group area being established. Eventually, when the Bantu are able to administer the town the European area may be abolished.

THE BANTU IN COMMERCE

The Commission recommends that generous financial and technical aid should be given to Natives in the Reserves to establish themselves in commerce. It suggests that £250,000 be made available as initial capital for Bantu commerce. Loans should be made available to would-be Bantu traders, they should be given commercial training, and preference in the allocation of trading station licences. Bantu co-operative societies should be encouraged.

The Commission urges The National Institute for Personnel Research to undertake research into the aptitude and ability of the Bantu for commercial positions; recommends commercial courses at technical colleges for Natives

and asks that private entrepreneurs help train the Bantu in commercial practices and methods.

EDUCATION

The Commission endorses the principles on which the Bantu Education Act is founded. It says: "The education of the Bantu should have its own Bantu national character so that its products will be capable of filling their places in their own society." It recommends: Lower primary schools offering a four-year course in the mother tongue. Higher primary schools, also with a four-year course, at which, after the second year, pupils would be allowed to choose either an academic or practical direction of study. Secondary schools, with a five-year course, providing for junior certificate courses which are either academic, partly vocational or fully vocational.

Provision will have to be made as quickly as possible for the training of artisans, tradesmen and technicians at technical institutions in the Reserves. The establishment of several university colleges in the Reserves, grouped under the collective name of "The Bantu University of South Africa," is recommended.

PROMOTION OF INDUSTRY

A development body with a fund of £25,000,000 should be established by the Government to promote industrial development in the Native Reserves, says the Commission. The establishment of secondary industries is essential to their development, but it found that with the exception of home industries of diminishing importance there was at present in the Reserves no industrial development worth mentioning.

The proposed Development Corporation should give preference to the textile industry, light industries like footwear factories, furniture and light-metal factories, industries based on forestry, quarries, cement factories, food canning concerns, and decortication (bark processing) industries. Industrialists should be attracted to the Reserves by the provision of basic services like transport, power, water and town planning, and not compelled to go there.

The Development Corporation should lay out factory areas in co-operation with the authorities concerned, create a special section (a bureau for small enterprises) to promote co-operative action, provide for a subsection of this bureau to promote home industries, furnish all possible information and help to prospective entrepreneurs, and provide loans for Bantu entrepreneurs. At first, Europeans and the Government would have to act as entrepreneurs, but the Bantu should be helped to take over this role when he is capable.

There are advantages in development of industries in border areas, but the disadvantages of this type of development—being in European areas the Bantu will be limited

to unskilled work and their urban development subject to European influence—call for careful control. Development on the borders would increase the carrying capacity of the Reserves, but development deep inside them would do so more effectively.

The Commission found that the most favourable areas for industrial development in the Reserves were the Transkei block, the Letaba-Shingwedzi block, the Umzimkulu-Harding block, the Olifants-Steelpoort-Blyde River block and Maputaland. Most favourable industrial areas on the borders of the Reserves were the Durban-Pinetown-Maritzburg complex and the East London-King William's Town complex.

The biggest problems of industrial development in the Reserves will be the lack of capital among the Bantu and the lack of skilled workers. The Commission regards the £25m. fund as an initial amount for the first five years only. After that, if larger amounts appear to be necessary, their size should be determined by circumstances. "This amount should be provided by the Government, irrespective of whether other sources of capital can be found or not." To help the change-over to Bantu control Bantu investors and the development corporation must have the first option of taking over the share interests of European entrepreneurs who wish to withdraw. European entrepreneurs must aim at allowing the Bantu to participate progressively in management and investment and Bantu must replace skilled White operators in the Reserve industries as soon as possible.

HEALTH SERVICES

The Commission recommends the establishment of a comprehensive medical service for the Reserve, saying

that the present hospital facilities there do not meet the need. In the five Reserves there were 4,640 Bantu to one doctor; it was usually considered that there should be about one medical practitioner for every 1,000 people. There were 5,777 medical practitioners on the medical register in 1951, of whom 61 were Bantu. Of the 55 Bantu doctors practising in the Union 29 were in the Reserves.

There were no Bantu dentists in the Union in 1951 and no facilities for their training. It is considered that there should be no more than 5,000 non-Europeans to one dentist. A network of clinics should form the basis of the proposed health service, says the Commission. The health services should be financed from a special Bantu health service trust fund to be established by the Department of Native Affairs. The Bantu as a whole should contribute through a health tax and a small contribution should also be levied from patients.

The Commission also recommends that welfare services in the Bantu Areas be developed by the Native Affairs Department and co-ordinated by the creation of a division of social development and welfare services within the Department.

CHURCHES AND MISSIONS

The Commission recommends the establishment of a special section for Church and Mission Affairs in the Department of Native Affairs, registration of all churches and missionary societies working among the Bantu (*de novo*), and special permits without which missionaries, priests, Bantu clergymen and evangelists will not be allowed to work in the Bantu areas. It says the Bantu nation need not be Westernized to be Christianized.

The Non-European and Housing

CAPE TOWN CATHEDRAL LENT LUNCH HOUR LECTURE

By A. H. Honikman, M.P.C.

THE Housing problem is a hackneyed phrase used to describe a set of circumstances which cause a vast number of people to live under congested conditions, in slums, in shacks, in squalor, without the benefit normally associated with a civilized state. The term "Housing" problem is also a misnomer because housing per se is no problem. Deficiencies in our economic, sociological and political structure and in our planning combine to produce a situation in which there are far more people than there are houses to live in.

We, who live as civilized people, cannot escape the responsibilities of the problem by discarding it as being symptomatic of our Capitalist system. It is not. A highly capitalistic country such as Switzerland has eliminated its slums by the substitution of an economic and poli-

tical framework which ensures a more realistic, practical and equitable distribution of the country's resources than we in South Africa, by virtue of overriding fears and prejudices, appear willing to permit.

EUROPEAN HOUSING

The housing needs of the Europeans are catered for, to a large extent, though not entirely, through the normal process of our economic system, i.e. by private enterprise. Their favoured position enables the majority of them to own and hire homes and flats and to enjoy not only the essentials but also the amenities and comforts of a very high standard of living.

Shortages in housing for Europeans do occur from time to time due to exceptional circumstances such as those

which follow in the wake of war, but they produce only a temporary problem. Generally speaking the European has ceased to regard his house merely as one of the basic essentials of living, such as food and clothing. To him it has become Home, providing scope for his creative urge, reflecting, in innumerable ways, his own personality.

NATIVES AND COLOURED

That happy position applies to a lesser extent to the Coloured people and is almost non-existent as far as the urban African is concerned. This is a disturbing fact because so many of the Tribal homes, lacking as they are in "civilized" amenities, show a marked decorative or artistic talent and a pride of home which does not survive the rigours of urban life. This cannot but cause the African to wonder if it will ever fall to his lot to enjoy the fruits of our Western civilization or whether perhaps they are intended solely for European consumption. The Minister of Native Affairs has given the answer to this vital question. He has said that as long as native labour is needed in Industry, the "bachelor native" may come in, but ultimately he must go! He is to be banished from the urban scene. "The gap must become wider and wider."

That is the pattern, which for the time being is the basis on which local authorities are expected to come to grips with their housing problems. That is the future which faces 4½ million urban Africans, a future which, we are told, should command the confidence of the African people and should convince them that the Site and Service Schemes and the austere dwellings which are being built for them are but the forerunner of better things to come!

Ladies and Gentlemen, up till now I have been generalising. I have tried to give you a glimpse of the problem in its broadest sense and of an attitude of mind which is developing in relation to it. Let us come a little nearer home. Cape Town.

A fortnight ago a building was burnt down in Sir Lowry Road, a few minutes walk from the heart of the City. Thirty-eight families became homeless. They have been temporarily accommodated at Newman's Farm. With a view to finding more permanent accommodation for them, our housing supervisors have been carrying out their routine investigations. They report an alarming picture. Of the thirty-eight families, no fewer than twenty are unsuitable for the Council's sub-economic housing estates. This means that the combined family income is insufficient to pay the sub-economic rental applicable to the cheapest type of housing erected. This is not an isolated case. It is a typical example of conditions which are rife in South Africa. Clearly it is not primarily a housing problem. It is a symptom of an unbalanced economic structure which can be righted only at national level, by bold economic

readjustment and social realignment through the medium of education.

COLOURED HOUSING SHORTAGE

The Department of Social Science of the U.C.T. is at present conducting a survey in Cape Town, as a result of which more accurate data of Cape Town's Housing needs will be available.

It is known, however, that the estimated shortage of Coloured houses is 20,000 in the Municipal area. This means that more than 100,000 of Cape Town's citizens are living under sub-human conditions. The position has not been eased in recent years. In fact it is estimated that the shortage will increase to 30,000 within ten years unless some radical changes are wrought.

The City Council has been building houses at the rate of 600 per annum. This barely copes with the fresh annual demand. The Council planned to build 900 to 1,000 houses per annum, but the funds placed at its disposal by the National Housing Directorate are insufficient. Unless the annual capital allocation is substantially increased there is no prospect of reducing the backlog of 20,000 houses either now or in the future—and this notwithstanding the splendid work being done by Servitas, Cafda and other utility organisations.

Let me put it another way. Unless something is done to make substantially more capital available for housing, the slum can be regarded as a permanent feature of the South African way of life, for which White South Africa claims responsibility and for which we should be thoroughly ashamed.

NATIVE HOUSING

I would like to deal briefly with Native Housing in Cape Town. Time does not permit me to dwell on conditions in the Reserves and the demands of industry, which have resulted in a steadily increasing movement of Africans towards the cities.

Today there are some 70,000 Africans inside the Municipal boundaries of Cape Town. 17,000 live at Langa. Approximately 13,000 are accommodated relatively well elsewhere. 40,000 live in squalor in shacks in Windermere, amidst the sand dunes of the Cape Flats and on the side of a Mountain which is ironically described inside South Africa and beyond, as one of the most beautiful sights in the world!

COUNCIL'S PLANS

The City Council planned the parallel development of Langa, Q-Town and Epping. These plans were prepared on sound Town Planning principles. With the industrial growth of the city there would be housing in close proximity to the industrial areas for the workers, both Coloured and African.

In 1953 the Department of Native Affairs expressed alarm at the grave shortage of accommodation for Natives in Cape Town. The Secretary for Native Affairs issued a directive that the Council should proceed with development at Langa and that if there was insufficient land available, the Council was to acquire additional land adjoining Langa.

The Council wasted no time. It applied for approx. 782 acres east of Vanguard drive to be set aside for Native Housing. It prepared interim building schemes, all of which were rejected by the Minister. He wished us to develop South of Nyanga, an area which was remote from the industrial areas and which would have been unduly costly to develop for housing. When this was explained to him, he suggested Elsies River—yet more remote from the industrial areas of Cape Town. Eventually, after appointing a Departmental Committee of Enquiry, the Minister agreed to two sites, Langa East and Nyanga West, but there were conditions attached among which were:—

1. All married families now living in Langa and elsewhere were to be removed to Nyanga.
2. Langa, planned to accommodate 70,000 persons, was to be for "Bachelor" natives only.
3. Extensions to Langa, East of Vanguard Drive, could not commence until all the married natives were removed from Langa.
4. 300 yard buffer strips were to be established to "isolate" Langa!

These conditions were consistent with the Government's Migrant Labour policy which, if implemented, can mean nothing less than the breakdown of Native family life.

This is being done to save White South Africa who claim "family life" to be the foundation of their civilization.

These conditions are not inconsistent with the Eiselen Line policy announced subsequently. The Eiselen Line proposals which have been accepted as official Government policy have as their object the ultimate total elimination of the African from an extensive area of the Cape Province. This policy is adopted without any clear indication of where the Africans are to go or what future awaits them or who is to replace them in industry and commerce.

This is done in the name of civilized South Africa. We say to the African: "While you are giving of your best to build up our cities and our economy, we shall educate you, but you shall not be allowed to remain in those cities and your status shall not entitle you to the benefits of that economy. In due course we shall remove you from the ambit of our society. That is your future!" No greater indignity—no greater punishment could be inflicted on the personality of any people.

While millions of pounds of public money are spent on the introduction and implementation of ideological legislation designed to secure white supremacy, nothing is done to rehabilitate the thousands of people who remain without homes.

Until the European, who alone has political power in South Africa, is able to reverse that policy and permit of permanent homes for Africans near their places of work inside and outside the Western Cape, he, the European, not the African, must remain the outcast among the civilized peoples of the world.

African Independence and After: Part I

SOME REFLECTIONS ON "SG"

(With acknowledgments to "The Round Table")

THE attitude of the British public towards what used to be known as "colonies" resembles that of the old-fashioned novelist towards his hero and heroine. His concern was with their courtship; he left them at the altar with bells pealing and orange-blossom scenting the air. What happened after was not his affair.

For some years the British people have been watching the development of a love affair between the colonial peoples and the spirit of independence—"SG" as Gold Coasters call it (for self-government). This has been, and is, taking place simultaneously in many parts of the world. The courtship has had its ups and downs, of course, but everyone has hoped that, sooner or later, the bride would be led to the altar and the pair live happily ever after.

Now that the marriage has been consummated in some places, and is about to be solemnized in others, it is be-

coming clear that the altar is no more the end of the road for a people and their "SG" than it is for any other bride and groom. Just as novelists now probe eagerly into the post-marital situation, so must public opinion be prepared to take an interest in the probable post-independence affairs of the erstwhile colonies. With one proviso: that we are dealing here with a different time-scale, that of history. A proper study of the question will not be feasible for at least fifty years. In the meantime it is possible to suggest some of the questions that may arise immediately the register is signed in Africa, where the pace is hottest and the bride, perhaps, most unpredictable.

A question constantly asked is: "Are Africans ready for self-government? How will they manage when the Europeans withdraw?" Point is given to such questions by recent events in the southern Sudan. What happened

when the Europeans withdrew is becoming painfully clear. The southern Sudanese refused to accept their new masters, the northern Sudanese, and revolted; and the country reverted to its previous condition of latent disorder. Normal administration has, for the time being, been replaced by an uneasy, limited and (in places) harsh military rule.

The southern Sudan is a special case, however, because the conditions of the marriage were not fulfilled. The southern Sudanese did not obtain self-government, they were simply handed over to the northerners. The fact that educated southerners had worked with the northerners in various branches of government did not really affect this position. They were learners still. Now they are victims of the British fiction that the Sudan is one nation, not two. Through this we can perhaps arrive at one proposition: fitness for self-government presupposes a political unit which is, so to speak, self-governable. It is no good drawing lines on a map (as was done when Africa was partitioned) which pay no regard to race, tribe, economics or geography and saying, in effect: "That is a country, and it must now govern itself." Those ancient tribal loyalties, history's half-hidden fears and memories, the pulls and thrusts of trade, the barriers of faith and language will reassert themselves. Countries are not made by cartographers but by the people who live in them. It was the failure to remember this that may have put the clock back by many years in the Sudan.

To see that powers are handed over only to a self-governable country, to a viable political unit, is the responsibility of the colonial Power—the father (to continue the metaphor) who gives away the bride. Other responsibilities lie on the bride's own shoulders. She has got her man; the vows are to be taken; can she be sure that she has the moral and domestic training to make him not merely an ardent mistress but a good wife?

In one sense, no community that has survived and even prospered can be called unfit to run its own affairs. Africa, before the European advent, was full of independent kingdoms which managed very well. Some had achieved a high degree of political cohesion, military strength and social organization. Africans could, and did, govern themselves, and could no doubt do so again today.

The real point is, of course, that we do not merely wish to see them self-governing, we wish to see them operating a certain type of government, known as parliamentary democracy. That system of government is as much a European invention as the internal combustion engine or the dynamo; and, like these, it needs a certain grasp of technique, a certain experience, to make it work. Any one of us can run a motor-car, perhaps even tend a dynamo, until it begins to go wrong. We then need some understanding of the principles and practice of engineering. If

we lack this, the car or dynamo will stop and we shall have to go back to walking, and to lighting fires. So, when we ask the question about fitness, what we really mean is: "Are Africans sufficiently trained in the principles and practice of parliamentary democracy to operate it by themselves?"

Put like this, it can be seen to be a very reasonable question. Parliamentary democracy as we know it, with its universal suffrage, its party system, its incorrupt hard-working bureaucracy, its freedom of speech, its centralization, its high taxes, and its many social services is a very new thing, so new that we have had it in its present form for less than forty years—too short a time to be sure that we can work it ourselves, let alone pass it on intact to pupils. To ask whether Africans are "fit" for self-government is only to ask whether they have had long enough, and thorough enough, training in our alien system of parliamentary democracy to be able to carry on without help: always provided (and this is a question that we never do ask) that this is the system they themselves really want, in their heart of hearts, to adopt as their own.

EMANCIPATION OF WEST AFRICA

Among the events scheduled for 1956 is the attainment of full self-government in regional matters in Nigeria, subject to safeguards for the survival of the federation. The Gold Coast already stands poised upon the brink of unrestricted freedom. The East and Central African dependencies lag behind because they have not fulfilled the conditions mentioned earlier—they are countries of mixed races and the races have by no means agreed on how to share the power. Everyone wants self-government, but each race considers that it should be the dominant partner and so, until some settlement can be reached, no final transfer of power can take place. They have not yet become viable self-governing States. The people of Buganda do not accept this. They want immediate self-rule. They are joined, however, with the people of the rest of the Uganda Protectorate who do not wish to become helots of the Baganda. Thus the pattern is repeated that we see all over the continent—the British trying to maintain intact, or at least as federations, the cartographer-countries, and the inhabitants trying to break away at the level, more or less, of the tribal unit.

For the majority of Africans are still tribesmen at heart. It would be surprising if it were otherwise. They have been tribesmen for centuries, indeed millennia, and citizens of the cartographer-countries for about fifty years. Nor is it pejorative to call a man a tribesman, any more than it is to call him a Welshman or a Scot. It does not mean that he lives like a savage in the bush, but merely that the thoughts and symbols which warm his heart and stir his blood are those of his homeland, his chief and clan, his customs, his language that he shares with others of his own

kin. The Ashanti, the Yoruba, the Baganda and the Kikuyu, to name only four, number in each case over a million souls (the Yoruba about three million) and have what is now called a "way of life" distinctly their own. The independence that they really yearn for is tribal. The white man wants them to march with others towards an independence shared with men of many other tribes, because on their own they would not form viable self-governable States. Obviously, there must be a limit to the smallness of a modern State, just as one would think there must be a limit to the bigness of the political giants. No living creature can be smaller than a virus or larger than a whale. But just where that limit is, has never been settled. Some tiny countries manage to survive: Luxembourg, Monaco, Tonga.

If one may, from all this, deduce a second principle it is that the withdrawal of European rule seems often to be followed by a strong fissiparous trend. It happened in the case of India and Pakistan. It happened in the Sudan at the moment of transfer. In West Africa it has happened earlier: the mere threat of transfer brought it about. In the Gold Coast, Dr. Nkrumah and his well-organized Convention Peoples' Party at first swept all before them, winning a crushing majority at the polls. Dr. Nkrumah in due course became Prime Minister and the way seemed clear to complete the process of winning SG. The main difficulty was seen to be integration of the backward Northern Territories but, in the event, it was the rich and well-developed kingdom of Ashanti that proved the stumbling-block. Here cocoa had brought an almost fabulous prosperity to a close-knit people with a long tradition of warlike activity and devotion to their king, the Asantehene, and the Golden Stool which symbolizes the soul of the tribe.

The Asantehene watched the rise and triumph of the CPP, controlled by the peoples of the coastal regions, with

a restraint that, in retrospect, seems masterly. One of the first acts of Nkrumah's government was drastically to curtail the powers of the chiefs by introducing elected district councils and taking the "stool" lands out of the chiefs' control. Other chiefs reacted vigorously against these measures, but not the Asantehene. He even welcomed them, and bided his time.

It was not long before the CPP's grip proved irksome. CPP ministers and organizers were howled down at meetings; then it became unwise for them to enter Ashanti territory at all. The National Liberation Movement was founded to procure the division of the Gold Coast into autonomous regions on the Nigerian model, with independence for the pieces rather than for the whole. This the British have refused, once more defending their cartographer-countries against the ancient pulls of race and tradition; but they have sent a Commissioner, Sir Frederic Bourne, to study the situation and recommend to what extent local autonomy can be safely introduced.

In Nigeria the British had it in mind to preserve a united centralized government: but the Northerners refused to agree. The North was fortunate in having three things: about half the total population, a paying export in the shape of groundnuts and a ruling class well accustomed to getting its own way. Equipped with these it won its point, or part of its point. It had hoped to split Nigeria completely and to leave merely the shadow of a federal scheme. But the British view won sufficient regional support, especially from the Ibo in the Eastern Region, to enable a compromise to be accepted. A fairly strong federal government survives, but it is the Regions that are to inherit SG next year. Or, at least, those Regions that want to, the Eastern and the Western: the North is more cautious and does not want complete independence until it has enough trained men to manage its affairs.

(To be concluded)

The Ciskeian General Council

IT seems but yesterday when General Smuts was piloting through the House what came to be known as the Native Affairs Act of 1920. It made provision for the creation of the Native Affairs Commission, as well as Local and General Councils in the Ciskei. Emissaries toured the Native areas in the Ciskei trying to convince the people what glorious things these new bodies would be. To-day we are presented with a report where the Councillors have voted themselves out of existence, without pressure, the world is told.

Like many public bodies the Council system had its defects, viewed by different bodies from various angles. The Government did not favour the Councils, because they were always passing resolutions, *requesting the Government*

to do this and that for the people. Now they are being replaced by a system where the representatives of the Community will be empowered to levy taxes and do things for themselves. To the African people the great defect was that of excluding their intelligentsia. These are people who read newspapers, books, who follow discussions in the House; who can see through the bluff; who unfortunately serve in one profession or another. As a result the men of leisure automatically become the mouthpiece of the people. There is no doubt that the task was often beyond their ability. When the Government preferred to transfer the Medical Bursaries from the University of the Witwatersrand to Wentworth, there was nothing obligatory to the Ciskeian General Council to do likewise, but the pres-

sure from the chair was great for them, and they sheepishly followed suit.

Now the Councils are being replaced by tribal, regional and territorial authorities. The way in which the changing over has been come to is nauseating in the extreme. The General Councils at their opening meetings are visited and addressed by sponsors of the Bantu Authorities Act. Recess committees are appointed and these hold meetings with the Local Councils in camera. All this time the African community counts for nothing, and is kept in the dark. The local Councillors at these private meetings are of the impression that the question will be opened afresh for discussion at the next General Council, but here all they are expected to do is to approve the report of the Recess Committee. How badly outmanoeuvred they

have been!

The glaring defect of the Bantu Authorities system is that the Councillors are not elected by the people but by the magistrate and the chief, and even their choices must be approved of in Pretoria.

The idea of the so called ethnic grouping is quite in line with the threadbare stunt of imperialists of "divide and rule." The giving of power to these "authorities" to resort to brutal methods of punishment in order to rehabilitate the law-breakers leaves a nasty taste in one's mouth.

We hope the word "community" which one hears so much of in this Act, will be interpreted to include all sections of the said community.

X.Y.Z.

Sursum Corda

BEYOND THE VEIL

By Rev. J. Bruce Gardiner, D.D.

SOME of us (no longer young) can recall a time when Christian thought and preaching were both vitally concerned with what lies beyond the seen and temporal.

Then for some time we observed a fading away of that concern as we observe the light fading when evening gathers round us.

More recently still we have observed a notable revival of interest in this subject; now however in a direction which older theologians would have deemed unscriptural and misleading. As an illustration of the new interest to which I am calling attention; scholars of standing, in various parts of Christendom, claim for themselves a freedom in their interpretation of the language of Scripture of our Lord himself; a freedom which is quite unrestrained by the older doctrine of inspiration. For instance (apropos our special subject) a new significance is given to the word translated "eternal." This word, we are told, has a meaning of which the usual translation "endless" gives no hint. It really denotes a quality, "rich, pure and true, divine."

When we grasp this as primary in what the word conveys we no longer lay emphasis on "endless." That may be included but is of less importance. Stress is also laid upon the fact that the poise and temper of our minds to-day (moulded by scientific methods of search and scrutiny) is impatient with much of the symbolism in which scriptural accounts of the world unseen are set before us.

Moreover, there is an impatience of the modern mind which goes deeper than language; which goes down to the dogmatism in which the older orthodoxy represented to us, from the instant of death, a sharp and final cleavage between Light and Darkness; Heaven and Hell.

The one was confidently represented as the celestial abode of God the Father and the destination of those who had become his children. It was described in language largely drawn from the Book of Revelation and, in days gone by, that description was much enjoyed by congregations and was the theme of many eloquent sermons.

Preachers loved to dwell upon symbols which have scant appeal to congregations now. That was one side of the picture of the beyond. The other side was set before congregations with vividness and in detail as a realm shrouded in outer darkness, "where the light is as darkness." This was represented as the abode of a malignant being who was the inveterate enemy of God and man, familiar to us all as the Devil and Satan.

The division of the two great realms was clearly cut and, in the nature of things, those who had failed to follow the way that leads to the bliss of Heaven had to accept the alternative; descent to the land of darkness "where there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth;" a remorse for which there was no remedy and no end. Against this representation of what awaits all mankind on the other side of death:—perfect happiness; endless misery, there have always been some who rebelled. For long, however, they were silenced if not satisfied with scripture language which was of supreme authority:—eternal life; eternal damnation.

To-day, those who express the old rebellion give an altogether new interpretation of the language of Scripture and refuse any longer to be governed by the dogma of infallibility applied to our translation. They also give a new prominence to certain words in the Epistles; for instance, St. Paul's memorable and suggestive comparison

of Adam and our Lord; "as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive," and again "having made peace by the blood of his cross (His aim was) to reconcile all things to himself." Not unnaturally this emphasis has led some to confidence in what is called "universalism," assurance that in the divine purpose no one will be ultimately lost.

This conclusion, however, seems to ignore a vital aspect of the truth, that the Lord God will force no one, even for his good, against his will; and that reminds us of the moving words of our Lord: "Ye will not come to me that ye may have life." That describes the response of wayward man to the gracious assurance, "Him that cometh unto me I will in no wise cast out."

There are Protestants who are coming to think that the search for an answer to our question concerning the unseen world is behind the old catholic doctrine of Purgatory, an intermediate realm into which all those pass who are not yet fit to blend in harmony with the holiness of Heaven; who have nevertheless made some progress towards that high character to which our Lord ever seeks to lead those who look to Him as Saviour.

That doctrine is taught with dogmatic assurance in the old Catholic Church. It has always been repudiated by Protestants, primarily on the ground that it has no clear scriptural authority. Moreover Protestants have always maintained that it sadly weakens the urgent appeal of the Gospel: "Now is the accepted time: now is the day of salvation." To-day there are staunch Protestants who

feel that in this direction, even if we disagree with the doctrine, we must look for an answer to the question which haunts many minds. Many would fain be assured that "beyond the veil" there is provision for those who know that they are not yet fit for the holiness of heaven, who have nevertheless trusted the Lord to save them from the outer darkness.

To many it seems right and reasonable to conceive of some place of preparation for those who at the end of earthly life look back with sincere regret on opportunities neglected to grow in grace and in knowledge of our Lord.

In what I have written I am not seeking to persuade my fellow Protestants to accept the doctrine of Purgatory. What I would fain do is to urge that we should all give more earnest heed to the familiar exhortation:

"Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling, for it is God that worketh in you" nor am I, in what I have written, casting any doubt upon either the will or the power of our Redeemer, here and now, to do for us exceeding abundantly above what we can ask or think: I have in mind those—and they are not few—who while hearing Christ's name, have allowed years to pass without really yielding themselves to the power of our Lord.

If only we would yield ourselves to Him. He would employ all the circumstances of our daily life to mould us so that we could blend in harmony with the happiness and blessedness of the place which He has gone to prepare for those who are his.

New Books

Christ and the Modern Opportunity, by C. E. Raven (S.C.M. 8/6.)

Here is good popular apologetic. In the first three paragraphs of the book there is some faulty writing which betrays the book's origin—it is a transcript of five addresses and a sermon delivered as a Mission to McGill University—but there are no more such blemishes after the opening paragraphs and the argument of the book is clear and straightforward. The Foreword, written by the Mission Committee, admits "so far as we know, there was not one sudden conversion arising from the Mission." but claims "we do know that there was, and continues to be, a widespread stirring of heart and mind upon the campus." Apologetic rarely has converting power, but it has confirming power and these addresses certainly have that. The first address is on the claim of Christ to-day; it sets the life of Christ as firmly relevant and proclaims the gospel as summed up in St. Paul's dictum "It was God's good pleasure to consummate all things in Christ; things in heaven and things in earth," adding "along that sort of line . . . we shall rediscover an adequate appreciation of

the Atonement." The contemporary challenge to the Church is not ignored: "The Church has no business to be a little 'Pleasant Sunday Afternoon' gathering of people living in an ivory tower. It has no business to separate itself from the sins and sufferings, the pain and wants of the world."

Particular attention should be drawn to a valuable exposition of Romans viii:

1. "the creation is subject to vanity"—frustration;
2. "nature groaning and travailing"—the creation is still in the making, as though in the throes of childbirth;
3. "the Spirit helpeth our infirmity with groanings."—God himself is involved, not a spectator, coming alongside, sharing;
4. "neither life nor death.."—because God is involved the end is sure.

Lastly, some admirable teaching is given on the doctrine of the Spirit—"the essential element in the Christian doctrine of Godhead which we need to recover." In brief and telling sentences Canon Raven shows the

"essential" doctrine of the Spirit in relation to Creation, Incarnation, Atonement, essentially related because without a true doctrine of the Spirit each of these fundamental Christian doctrines is left high and dry, unrelated to us.

The many good things in this slender volume should not be missed.

N.B.

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Other Worldliness and the New Testament, by Amos N. Wilder, (S.C.M. Press, 126 pp. 7/6).

The author is Professor of New Testament Interpretation at Harvard Divinity School, and his object in this book is to meet the popular charge made against the Christian Faith in modern times from various quarters that it is escapist and irrelevant to the problems of life today. The accusation recalls the names of Marx, Nietzsche, and others, but it is also met with from less violent people who, while quite ready to agree that the Good News of Jesus is noble and idealistic beyond any other, nevertheless profess to find it quite ineffectual in dealing with modern needs.

The root of the error, as Dr. Wilder sees it, lies in a failure to understand the New Testament properly, because of the tendency to divorce the transcendent, other-worldly realities as formulated by the New Testament writers, (and which are indeed of a value not in any way to be minimised), from our common human experience. "Only as they are kept together can the valid otherworldliness of the Gospel remain sound and healthy."

The objective is approached from four angles—the inadequate 'spirituality' of present-day faith; the theology of the N.T.; the Jesus of history; the Resurrection Faith. A persistent tendency has to be recognised and faced whereby

"formulations once potent in their appeal to men may lose their appropriateness. The religious life then becomes isolated from the common life and takes on the character of a false legalism or false spirituality. In the course of time the stream of grace once effectually mediated through these forms begins to fail and faith is no longer greatly nourished. The universality of the gospel is thus forfeited and its inherent claim upon the whole of life. Let us make sure that the candle which we have received is set upon the candlestick where it will give light to *all* in the house; and that the talent entrusted to us is not diverted from its proper circulation and productivity by being wrapped safely in a napkin, even in a napkin of the most hallowed and cherished uses and associations."

How important it is that we should be put on our guard here and be able to recognise the danger. Dr. Wilder may not always be very easy to follow or entirely free on occasion of some confusion between *post hoc* and *propter hoc*, but he

renders us very valuable service in his reminder that "revelation did not act and does not act in a vacuum." He is a prophet whose message we need.

O.B.

One Solitary Life

How do you explain the greatness of Jesus?

He was born in an obscure village, the child of a peasant woman. He grew up in another village. He worked in a carpenter shop until He was 30, and then for three years was an itinerant preacher. He never wrote a book. He never held office. He never owned a home. He never travelled 200 miles from the place where He was born. He never did any of the things that usually accompany greatness. He had no credentials but Himself.

Although He walked the land over, curing the sick, giving sight to the blind, healing the lame, and raising people from the dead, the top established religious leaders turned against Him. His friends ran away. He was turned over to enemies. He went through the mockery of a trial. He was spat upon, flogged, and ridiculed. He was nailed to a cross between two thieves. While He was dying, the executioners gambled for the only piece of property He had on earth and that was His robe. When He was dead, He was laid in a borrowed grave through the pity of a friend.

Nineteen wide centuries have come and gone, and today He is the central Figure of the human race and the Leader of the column of progress. All the armies that ever marched, and all the navies that were ever built, and all the parliaments that ever sat, and all the kings that ever reigned, put together, have not affected the life of man upon the earth as has that One Solitary Life.

Source Unknown.

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Christian Education Movement.

Secretary wanted.

The Christian Education Movement is on the outlook for an Organising Secretary, to initiate and organize its work under the directions of the C.E.M. Council (a body representing the main English-speaking Protestant churches and educational bodies) in both European and non-European education. Although the work is mainly in relation to schools, there is also some work in relation to parents. Further details will be furnished on application to C.E.M., P.O. Box 3624, Johannesburg.

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He can tell thee how to suffer Who was brought up to that trade from the cradle to the grave.

—William Gurnall.